1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 476 178 been accustomed to working together. Even more, the cooperative becomes closely identified with the central government, which immediately introduces not only nonfamilial but even nonlocal considerations. This is a psychological gap which many peasants cannot quickly cross. Promoters of cooperatives from outside may see in them a strong support of family and village values; but the peasant sees in them the impersonality of the political authority, the introduction of money rather than exchange of labor as the unit of measurement, and, at times, even questions the motives of those "who are running around trying to get us to join something we don't know anything about." Throughout Greece I found villages at all degrees of opposition or readiness for cooperatives, but where there was resistance these three difficulties were present along with a dozen other reasons the people gave to explain why they did not want to join.

474 438 The cooperative movement, like so much in Greece, has an interesting past. One important landmark noted by students of cooperatives in Greece was the rise of Ambelakia, a city on the Peneios River in Northern Greece, which became such an important manufacturing center of cotton and silk goods in the seventeenth century that it had trade connections throughout Europe. Its dyed thread was particularly well known then, although its wine is its only product renowned today. Ambelakia rose to economic greatness because of the well-run association which administered the community's affairs. Although this may have been more in the tradition of the guild than a modern cooperative, it nevertheless showed what a single community could do if it organized its efforts in a systematic fashion.[8] The association of Ambelakia, as well as the modern cooperative movement, is thought by some to have its roots deep in the traditions of local self-government, as the later discussion of this topic will show. Not only would one community organize itself as a viable political and economic unit, but several communities in an area would band together to deal with the Turkish masters. But, significant as these unions were, they were quite different in scope and intent from the agricultural-cooperative movement in Greece today which goes back to 1900. At that time a schoolteacher in the village of Almyros in Thessaly, aroused over the fact that local usurers were charging peasants interest rates as high as 100 percent, organized a local credit or loan society which he called a mutual treasury. This type of organization spread to many communities throughout the country.

474 621 [875] 474 426

474 656 In 1915 a new law provided for the establishment of cooperatives, with at least seven persons required to form a society. Such a cooperative could be of unlimited liability, with each member having one vote, or it could be of limited liability, with those having more shares being allowed up to five votes but no more. The Cooperative Act provided certain privileges: exemption from import duties on agricultural implements and machinery, seeds, spray materials, and other essential agricultural materials for the

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634 through internal dissensions with the government group, which came to light a
661 week or two later on the replacement of the Minister of Interior among others and the secession of the Markezines group. It was a question of removal of antipatronage elements. The dismissals were legally contested, and subsequently several of the career nomarchs were restored to office. In late 1955 the reorganized government partly introduced legislation again re-establishing the career nomarchs.[11]

65 Whenever I found peasants complaining about their government, I asked them to list for me what services they received from outside the village.
[369] One of the men who had been complaining most vociferously in a Theban village was somewhat startled at this request, especially after he had delivered himself of such eloquent sentiments as: "People in Athens live in paradise; here in our village they live in hell. The Athenians consider us slaves to work so they can eat." But he put his mind to the problem and said:

[793] What do we receive from outside? Well, our priest is paid by the government
[875] although we contribute something to the archbishop's funds; our teacher is paid by the government and they gave us a little for our school building, but we gave the materials and the labor. As for our roads, the villagers give their labor, break the rocks and put them in place, and then beg the government to help complete the road with machinery. The government engineer will come and supervise.

[625] Our field policeman, who watches to see that animals do not get into the growing crops, is paid from an independent treasury; our gendarmes are paid by the central government.

[759] The government does not provide us with medical care, for we have an ar-
[758] rangement [*kondoia*] whereby any family agrees to give forty-four okas of wheat
[465] to the doctor, and he comes when called during the year. This does not in-
[793] clude the cost of medicine. If you are not in this system, you pay for each visit. We have had this system a long time; it is deeply rooted. We used to pay our priest the same way, giving him twenty-two okas of wheat per family before the government took over his pay.

In this village, as elsewhere, we got conflicting opinions about the quality and usefulness of service rendered by the government, but there was a growing awareness that such services were available through the national government.

625 Once, on a return trip from Northern Greece to Athens, while we were
[124] having coffee in Levadeia in Central Greece, the commandant of gendarmes for that area asked if his wife and he might ride with us to Thebes. During the drive of less than an hour, we had a lively conversation on many points.
[701] I asked him about the young policemen or gendarmes whom we found in every village and town. He said that most of them were fulfilling their military service, although as gendarmes they have to do a three-year rather

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871 Incidentally, the illiteracy rate (in 1951) was 18 percent among urban Greeks (24 percent of the women, 8 percent of the men); and 30 percent among rural Greeks (45 percent of the women, 14 percent of the men). Many extenuating circumstances explain the high illiteracy rate among the women, for great numbers of them grew up in parts of Greece which were under Turkish rule during their childhood. Furthermore, education of women in rural areas has not had the practical significance to the villagers that schooling a boy would have. As for the younger age groups, they were deprived of schooling during the war years. Even during the guerrilla war many schoolteachers stayed away from the villages because as intellectuals they would have had to take sides either for or against the Communist-led forces, and they did not want to get involved. Thus children were deprived of educational opportunities. School buildings also were destroyed. No wonder the more ambitious among them were asking, "What will happen to us if we can't read?"

[212] [369] [562] [669] [875]

Local Support for the School

871 Local school affairs are in the hands of the school board, which may consist of the teacher *ex officio* and of two others chosen by the village if it is small, or of five members if it is larger. The parents of the children in school are the ones usually involved in the election, but they know full well that the board can deal only with local matters such as finding money for current expenses including necessary books for the library, maintaining the building in reasonable repair, and determining various fees to be paid by the children. If the teacher, sent in by the central government, is not satisfactory, then the school board can complain to the inspector of schools but has no assurance that the next teacher will be any better suited to their needs should the present unsatisfactory one be replaced. Nor does the local school board have anything to say about what is taught in the school, since a uniform curriculum is followed throughout the country. In many parts of Greece, it is customary for the teacher to serve as cashier for the board, which handles fairly large sums contributed by the local people and the community council toward the education of their children.

[875] [875]

One nomarch in Northern Greece said that out of the two hundred schools in his nomos (one hundred forty villages and sixty in urban suburbs), the patrons of sixty of them were willingly contributing money to pay for extra teachers as well as labor to pay for school enlargement. In spite of the comparatively large sums that are entrusted to the school board, the nomarch said that he had not known of a single case where money had been mishandled or misappropriated, a fact he attributed to the serious attitude the people take toward education. One problem, of course, is the uneconomic attempt by every little village to have its own school. Yet, because of transportation inadequacies, Greece is not ready to support con-

[634] [653]

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solidated elementary schools, even if the educational administrators should consider them desirable.

Most villagers show a pride in their school and try to locate it on one of the best sites in the village, quite often near the main square. These buildings come in all sorts of shapes and sizes. In the middle of the Peloponnesos we found a village school over a hundred years old, which had been privately endowed. The building was a one-room, poorly lighted structure which must have been truly grand by standards of a century ago. But today it seemed sadly inadequate for the many children crowded into its rows of benches. In Metsovo, the picturesque Wallachian village between Ioannina (Epirus) and Trikkala, we found an attractive, two-story stone structure of a type characterizing the more prosperous established mountain settlement which furnished pack horses for the caravan routes before the coming of the railroad. In Malakassa, in Attica, we saw a school being built of concrete blocks in 1955 by a joint effort of the American Save the Children Federation and the local village authorities.

An American senator once became interested in the welfare of a village near Mount Olympus, since some of his constituents of Greek descent told him that little was being done to remedy the deplorable conditions there. An American Mission official went to investigate. Part of his report gives a vivid postwar word picture:

> The school was not completely ruined. The roof had collapsed, and the flooring, window-panes and furniture, all made of wood, had been used for firewood. The building remained and is being repaired. Unfortunately, the funds for school repairs are limited throughout Greece. The whole Nomos (Prefecture of Larissa, for instance, in which Kokkinopoulos is located), is comprised of 160 communities, most of the schools of which were damaged to some degree. The Nomos received $21,000 for this purpose, $2,371, of which went into the repair of the school at Kokkinopoulos. The roof has been replaced and the stairs finished, as have two of the four classrooms. In some villages, the State assistance was supplemented by the private initiative of the villagers, either in terms of materials or labor, and the schools were finished. In any case, the two classrooms are considered relatively adequate for the 158 children of school age in the village.[6]

The educational figures for 1956–57 throw some added light on the problem, since they show that there were in the whole country, including the cities, towns, and villages, a total of 8,527 elementary schools with about 940,000 pupils, or an average of 112 per school.[6] The chances are that in most village schools there are from 50 to 60 children per room, if the room happens to be large enough to accommodate that many, since approximately 60 percent of all elementary schools have one room and a single teacher.[7]

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871 Therefore, the school board in many villages has its hands full trying to provide an adequate school building by seeking aid from the King's Institute, from the local community council, or from whatever other source can be tapped. The village is much more apt to procure and hold a teacher, [875] since teachers are in such short supply, if it can provide him something approximating satisfactory living conditions. That is why some school boards, [346] in constructing a new school, include a room in which the teacher can live, for such private accommodations are not available in many Greek villages. Providing necessary equipment and school supplies is another persistent problem for the school board, particularly since many of the parents cannot afford to buy for their children what the teacher thinks essential. [658] Nor should it be supposed that the national government is indifferent to this state of affairs. Its funds for education are necessarily limited and these are first earmarked for teachers' salaries. What kind of person, one might ask, would care to teach under some of the difficulties encountered in the village schools?

The Village Teacher

875 For the almost 940,000 pupils in elementary school in 1956–57, there 872 were 19,872 teachers. This means a national average of about 47 pupils per teacher, although as an average it indicates that a large number of teachers have more than this. In many of the smaller villages, the teachers have from four to six grades in one room, reminiscent of the rural one-room school in America of many years ago.

If we turn to accounts of village life, we gain a quick insight into, but certainly not a representative sampling of, the number of teachers one would meet, since each of these villages has at least three teachers:

[874] In a fairly large Macedonian village we find five teachers, three with the rank of "instructors" who have finished a two-year normal school beyond secondary school. The two others are trained kindergarten or nursery-school teachers. They have 402 pupils, of whom 358 are in the regular six grades and 44 are in kindergarten and nursery. Most of these teachers have been in this village for at least five years. Nevertheless, because of their urban background, their thinking is urban and they find it difficult to take part in village activities.

In a village near Xanthe there are three teachers, all new to the community, who are paid by the central government. Two of these are from the Peloponnesos far to the south. All are graduates of the pedagogical academies. They have 156 pupils with an average daily attendance of 142.

Another village in Central Greece has three teachers: one man and two women. The man has resided in the village since 1947; one woman was appointed head of the school in 1942 but was away during the German occupation; the third was appointed in 1951. All are graduates of the normal school.

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They teach 183 pupils, 78 percent of whom attend regularly during spring and early summer and 90 percent during the fall and winter.[8]

Early in my stay in Greece I had occasion to speak at considerable length with the director of one of the leading secondary schools in Athens. Later on, as I talked with village teachers, I found how accurately this educator had sized up the situation. He started off by giving some necessary background:

In my young days we had only four grades in the elementary school and, furthermore, not all villages had schools. Since 1929, the elementary school has been made six years and more villages have gotten schools. Since 1930, the number of pupils attending elementary schools has practically doubled. With the influx of the refugee population in the 1920s there was no possibility of increasing the buildings and staff in keeping with the population. For instance, the secondary-school enrollment has tripled, but unfortunately the revenue of the state has not tripled. Don't forget the four wars (1912–14; 1918; 1922; and 1940–45, with the guerrilla war following that). The northern provinces, especially, have suffered most because of the occupation by the Bulgarians.

He then pointed out that up to 1912 the role of the teacher was far greater than now. When I asked the reason, he said that then only the teacher and the priest were literate, but now the so-called educated people, originally from the village who have spent some time in the city, go back and say that what the priest and teacher advise is not important. This superficial education proves very harmful, he warns, because people who think themselves clever say to the villagers: "Here in the city we work six hours; in the village you work longer." The director then explained:

The teachers are far better educated now than before. The university studies are better than they used to be. The spelling is not much better due to the many differences resulting from the use of the popular language [*demotike*] and the "pure" language [*katharevousa*]. After a uniform language is established, the spelling will take care of itself.

About four fifths of the teachers come from rural areas. Although each teacher is better-trained now, he faces many more difficulties than before. Each teacher used to have thirty pupils; now he has sixty and these have to be crowded into the same old building. Every year the proportion of men in the university decreases as the numbers of women rise. Many more women are going into elementary teaching now than formerly because of the low salary. A man cannot support his family on that salary and women take teaching jobs because they have to add to the family income. Also there are many graduates of the pedagogic institutes, who are trained as teachers, but who find better jobs elsewhere and never do any teaching.

He felt it the teacher's duty to be deeply involved in the social life of the village, which required more knowledge about agriculture, coopera-

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tives, and financial matters. "But a really pernicious element in the village, today," said the director, going back to an earlier theme, "is the half-educated person, who sits in the coffeehouse, reads the newspapers, and gives his half-baked ideas. He thereby undermines the influence of the teacher." Nevertheless, many dedicated teachers exert tremendous influence despite all the handicaps they face. He mentioned the case of the teacher in Phlorina (western Macedonia), a Greek refugee from Russia, who in the late 1920s planted with the children in the school garden the first apple trees, destined to become the basis of the extensive orchards now in that area. The teacher persuaded the villagers to take slips from these trees for planting. But not all teachers show this initiative. "We fail to teach the teachers how to teach the children how to behave and meet the various problems as they arise." The fault does not lie with the children, since they have an incredible thirst for learning: "To the child, the school is cherished," he concluded.

It was always easy to get people not only to compare education in the past with the present but also to get discussions of the regional differences in emphasis upon education. In a Macedonian village I once listened to a long discussion with a local official and an outsider, originally from Southern Greece, who had brought a truckload of beehives from Chalkidike to pasture on the special variety of blossoms there. The beekeeper asserted: "The standard of living in the Peloponnesos is higher than here in Northern Greece. In my village there has been for many years a gymnasium, and you won't find anyone who hasn't gone to school, while here you don't find people with the same interest. That is why the standard of living is higher in the Peloponnesos."

But the Macedonian would not accept such a comparison without a verbal challenge: "You forget that you got liberated almost one hundred years before we did. We had five hundred years of Turkish rule over our heads; it is not true that we don't want our children to get a better education. For instance, in my village of Balta we have a semigymnasium where there are 365 students. The state wants to close that school, and we said that if they did this we would be obliged to send our children to a distant gymnasium. We have eight teachers in that school; four are paid by the state, but we local people give them a supplement since their salary is not sufficient; the other four teachers are paid entirely by the parents. In the first three grades each pupil pays $3 per month and in the next three grades $4 per month. This shows we value education. Everything goes for Southern Greece; we are neglected here."

Here, at least, was one indication that the teacher was much appreciated. But throughout my village visits I also found those who were impatient with the teachers. One Greek official, who knows many parts of his country

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intimately, agreed with many of the points that the Athens gymnasium director had made, as the following summary of his comment shows:

About thirty or forty years ago the community was independent. It was something solid; it elected the best people to office. Why? They elected their own teacher, their own priest, and the field guards. Three main points of their life — education, religion, and security — were all in their own hands. The central government wanted to take into its own control all of these functions in order to put in its own appointees who would influence the people. The peasants lost their ability to manage their own affairs, and became hostile to the government and to the teacher. The teacher is no longer responsible to the farmer but to the government. Nowadays, because of this and because of the anti-government attitude brought in by the refugees from Turkey, the peasant has separated himself from his government and asks everything from it.

The teacher has no obligation toward the village, no sense of community relations. He stays in the coffeehouse and aims to move to a town or city. Formerly a village would give some bright boy a chance to go outside for an education and then he would come back and live in the village where he had his own home. He was one of the best teachers.

When one begins to sift from many conversations the findings about the village teacher and to read the village accounts which include him in their pages, a few matters stand out. First of all, it is true that the allegiance of the teacher is to the national government and to the bureaucracy upon which his advancement depends. He thinks of himself as a representative of the national ideal, which he is supposed to instill in every child studying under him. His loyalty is therefore to Greece, and one of his major purposes is to help the village child feel a close identification with the national state. Second, he tries, often like a drillmaster, to get the pupils to master the course content worked out in Athens. The brighter ones need encouragement to go on to the gymnasium and must receive the preparation that will serve them in good stead there. Third, the teacher must train children to participate through song, recitation, and national dance in the various holiday celebrations and festivals that come along and at which the school makes an appearance. This serves a village purpose in that it encourages local traditions and provides some diversion in what many would consider the humdrum life of the villager. But there are few teachers in the national school system, unless they are in one of the specialized schools set up for the purpose, who undertake any adult education or even try to make the younger scholars look around at their village environment for ways in which it can be improved. Very often I got the impression that many teachers were even trying to make the villagers forget the present and its problems by focusing their attention on the past and its glories as a substitute for action today.

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But one must not be too hard on the teacher. The local people do not expect him to be an important agent of change. He is to teach their children so that some of them can go on to the gymnasium and eventually achieve glory outside the village. He is to be sure that the youngsters learn to read and write, which is becoming a modern necessity even in the out-of-way places in Greece. Along with this he must act the way an intellectual is supposed to act. He dresses in the urban styles; he talks of the plays and other activities going on in the city; he even reminds people occasionally how stupid they are to be doubly sure that they respect the knowledge that he has acquired. In many villages if he were to trouble the children about the flies that annoy them, suggest that the water they drank might be impure, or tell the farmers that they ought to be using more fertilizer, he would be branded as a meddler and told to stick to his teaching. It is all right to have a school garden, but this is often viewed as an aesthetic rather than as an educational undertaking. If the school is to make an impact leading toward village improvement, the teacher will need much broader support than he has received in the past from others in the Ministry of Education; his training will have to be modified, and he will have to be relieved from the heavy pupil load that he carries. To expect any teacher, responsible through the day for fifty to sixty children, even if they do come in morning and afternoon shifts, also to take on the task of trying to remake the peasant world is asking more than is reasonable. If the teacher is to prepare children more effectively for a changing world, according to many of those who have studied the Greek educational system, a beginning will have to be made with the curriculum and the textbooks.

The School Curriculum

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Any discussion of what is taught in Greek schools must include not only the course of study for the first six grades (elementary) but embrace that for the gymnasium (high school) as well. To be sure, only in the largest villages does one find a gymnasium, of which there are 701 in Greece (1956–57), with an enrollment of 195,000 students and a staff of 4,775 teachers. As has already been suggested, children from the outlying villages who have completed the elementary grades may walk several miles back and forth to the gymnasium in the central town or large village; if they live too far away, several of them may live in a fairly simple dormitory during the week and go home for the weekend. But Saturday is a school day, so the weekends are abbreviated affairs, although now in some cases bus transportation is provided to save the long walks home.

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In approaching the curriculum found in the Greek schools it is important to remember that "when Greece became independent in 1830 her primary concern was not to teach her children how to transform their thinking and behavior from the mentality of an occupied power to that of a self-govern-

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in a handkerchief, thereby putting the priest under his control so he will do no harm. But, bad luck or not, the priest is indispensable. At numerous repasts celebrating a christening, a nameday, or some other important event, we had to wait what seemed an interminable length of time because the priest could not arrive any earlier. Without him, nothing could get under way. One serious student of Greek rural life said: "In Greece when a priest is missing, it is a great calamity, for the Greek is not used to praying by himself without a priest." [11] In earlier days when the belief in vampires was much more widespread than today, it was the priest, the minister of God, who alone had any power over them. He could calm the fears of the people.

The responsibility for the local parish does not fall entirely upon the priest, although the chief responsibility is his. There is a church board, consisting of three to five members, with the priest as president. The nominations for this board are submitted to the bishop by the priest, and the bishop designates them as official members of the board. One member of the board is the treasurer. When these local officials are asked just what their duties are, they usually include in their replies: to help the priest, to look after the finances, and to care for the church building. This board has as one of its chief duties the sale of the candles in the church vestibule and can use the proceeds of the sale for local church needs. In most communities it is considered a great honor to serve as a member of this board, although this position requires much work and frequently has more responsibility than the presidency of the local cooperative.

A recent development is the growth of the Sunday school, held after the regular morning service. Young boys, girls, and a few women are usually found in attendance, although young people up to the age of twenty are urged to attend. Throughout much of Greece the priest gives the instruction, although in Northern Greece we found many villages where the teacher had taken over this extra duty. Usually the same lesson is given to all age groups at the same time. It is customary in some places, such as the Attic villages we visited, for the school to be held on a weekday by the teacher, in which case it was not called Sunday school but "the preaching school."

The heart, however, of the Greek Orthodox Church — as of many other Christian bodies — is the Sunday-morning Mass. Anyone attending can not help but notice the building itself, usually in the shape of a Greek cross, with the ends terminating in apses. Over the center there is a dome representing heaven. In front, the altar screen (*eikonostasion*), on which one finds the icons or pictures of various saints, separates the altar (*vema*), which no woman can enter, from the nave, where the worshippers congregate.[12] The priest moves back and forth between altar and nave in what seems a random manner to the uninitiated. As he turns to face the altar,

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The Village Notables

554 Contrary to popular belief, one does not always find the village notables sitting around the coffeehouse. Most of them are usually busy people, working in their fields, around their houses, or in a shop. They do make at least brief appearances around the square some time during the day, most probably after supper. Loafers do not become notables in a Greek village. To learn who these notables were, I asked throughout mainland Greece: "Who are the most important people in your village? Why are they important?"

[622] I was struck by the fact that in 1955 and 1959 more people seemed to stress the high prestige of the community president than they had done in 1953. This impression, if fully verified, would indicate a growing importance of and a re-emphasis upon local government in the Greek scheme of things. One priest in the Peloponnesos attributed this shift to the fact that "interest in religion is not as great as twenty years ago and church attendance has declined." A few typical replies, many contradicting each other in some details, will convey the villager's view of the notables in his community.

554 875 759 622 793 From Central Greece:

> The greatest honor in our village is to be president of the community. Those who are most respected are those with the most money. Anyone who has money receives a hearty "good morning"; without money he doesn't. This is because our people are not educated. In fact, the priest gets more respect than the teacher, which is not as it should be. The local doctor, too, is respected.

From another village in Central Greece we hear:

> The most important people are the most educated, either the doctor or the teacher who, thanks to his education, can solve a problem in which the people are interested. We have some clever people who try to overshadow the teacher in order to influence other villagers, but if they are to do this they must be respected. If an extremely clever person is immoral, he has no great prestige. Two things influence other people: to be just in his judgment and honorable. We respect a man more if he is honorable than if he is rich. Even an uneducated man who is a good farmer and has good judgment and is honorable can have influence.

[665] Party leaders in former times would have been included among the notables, according to a businessman from Thebes:

> In my childhood days the party leader would have ranked as most important, particularly if he belonged to the strongest party and would be able to help local people solve their problems. Nowadays in the village the president of the community would play a great part. The doctor, if there is one, has high position, provided that he is respected by the others. In the old days the priest and teacher were more respected than today. In my childhood when the teacher

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In my childhood when the teacher or priest would pass through the village square people would stand up. The local merchants in the village have changed their status little, for their role in life is still to do commerce.

554 875 793 622 [474]

The extent to which the priest or the president of the local cooperative, where it exists, is considered important depends today very much upon the personalities of the individuals involved. One person said:

The role of the priest should be mentioned along with the teacher and doctor. He should lead because he represents the church and is more educated than the peasants. But there are some priests who play little part in community life. I know of one who drinks too much, shoots off his revolver, and is not respected.

The relative prestige of the village notables has been influenced by the practice of the central government in providing the teacher and the priest. Only the community president comes into office as the result of local initiative, but even his status, though gaining ground, is not what it used to be thirty or forty years ago:

The president of the village is usually a better man than the president of the cooperative because there is more tradition behind his office. But it does not always hold that the best man is picked as president. In Thessaly forty years ago when the president came into the coffeehouse all the men rose in deference to "their president."

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A man from a mountain village in Central Greece who is active in the cooperative movement contrasted the various statuses in his community:

I find that the teacher enjoyed more prestige formerly than now. Earlier there was a higher percentage of illiterates, but today many village sons have gone away for a higher education and so people are not so dependent upon the teacher. Since officials do not wish to undermine the position of the teacher, the agronom and other representatives of the nomarchia always consult the teacher when arriving in the village.

This man thought the secretary of the village more important than the president.

When I put the question of relative prestige of the notables to a group of students at the American Farm School in Salonica, I found the anticipated difference of opinion. The majority of the boys, all from villages, said that the president of the community was most important, but others said that the priest would be "if he is from the village itself and has a good reputation." They pointed out that the president of the community becomes involved in politics and is therefore apt to antagonize those who may differ with him politically. Of the twenty villages represented, fourteen had doctors. Only six of these were considered community leaders. These village boys also thought, for the most part, that the wealthy peasants were

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554 not necessarily considered in the select group unless they held some other
●875 office such as community president. In Northern Greece, if a villager has
799 achieved renown by fighting in one of the wars for the liberation of Mace-
622 donia, he will rank high. He becomes the personification of local history,
[729] and what he says about the war will be given more credence than what the
[561] textbooks say. He was there and saw things with his own eyes.

A generation or two ago one's age had much to do with the respect shown to him but this value is shifting:

> Older people used to be the leaders. Now the tendency is toward the educated and wealthy, although the community president is chosen much on the same basis as before. He generally ranks first in importance. The teachers and priests are better-educated than they used to be so their influence is greater.

The above sentence seems to contradict the observation that as people become more educated they rely less on the teacher and priest. What actually happens is that the basis for respecting these two notables shifts. In villages where a progressive spirit is abroad, if they show an interest in doing things for the community and are not merely functionaries carrying out the narrow round of activities connected with their jobs, then they acquire prestige. But it is only the better-educated priests and teachers who show any genuine community orientation. This was reaffirmed by a nomarch in the Peloponnesos who, while listing the president of the community as actually and legally the most important man, also observed: "On the other hand, a teacher or priest may rank high due to outstanding personality characteristics."

554 I noticed in Central Greece and the Peloponnesos that from time to
167 time some native son, who had spent several years in the United States,
177 would be included with the notables. At first, I wondered whether he was trotted out because he could speak a few words of English, but then I noticed that others who also had been to the States were kept in the background. To receive prestige in many, though by no means all, villages, the returnee must show generosity that no other local inhabitant is expected to demonstrate.

Nor can one overstate the omnipresence of these village Greeks who have spent some time in America.[1] In one village of less than two thousand I found more than forty older men who had been to the United States. The net social effect of this reservoir of foreign experience was almost negligible. One returnee said: "Even if you come back with new ideas, you must conform to life about you, for those ideas are not applicable here. If you stay here you will be like a peasant in a year; if I went back to the States I would become a gentleman again."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

000 the British Admiralty, 1930); and M. L. Newbigin, *Southern Europe: A Regional and Economic Geography of the Mediterranean Lands* (3rd ed., London, 1949).

3. One still finds many similarities between the peasants of Hesiod's time (see his "Works and Days") and those of today.

4. Many allusions to nature are found in the passionate novel about the Communist guerrilla war by Panos D. Bardis, *Ivan and Artemis* (New York, 1957).

5. "The Holy Virgin's Hand" is mentioned on p. 123 of G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore* (Cambridge, Eng., 1903). This book gives a number of examples of the peasants' use of and adaptation to nature.

6. For a delightful essay on the flowers of Greece, see "Flowers of Ancient Greece," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 23, 1954.

7. For an earlier account of peasant cosmological beliefs, see the article by N. G. Politis in *Attikon Emerologion* (1882); also G. Kapsalis, "Meteorologikes paroimiakes Phraseis" (Meteorological Proverbial Phrases), *Laographia*, XIII (1950).

8. One of the most authentic documents on Greek village life came into my hands through a mutual acquaintance of T. K. Papaspyropoulos, the author. This account is in Greek typescript, from which the passages used in my book have been translated with the permission of the author. Mr. Papaspyropoulos teaches singing in one of Athens' secondary schools and has specialized in folk music. I accompanied him on a visit to his village, where I had a chance to observe at first hand many of the sights he so colorfully describes. [875] [123]

9. A very common phrase among the peasants is *Ean theli o Theos* (If God is willing), to which one replies *Vevea, prota o Theos* (Yes, of course, first God).

10. Interesting observations on the use in Homer of the ancient Greek terms *até* (divine temptation or infatuation, cause of irrational actions) and *moira* (portion or lot) are found in E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951).

11. The facts and figures used in this section are taken in large part from *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece* (Washington, 1947), and *Story of the American Marshall Plan in Greece, July 1, 1948 to Jan. 1, 1952*, Press Release No. 1300, MSA (Athens, July 20, 1952).

12. For the problem of soil erosion, see Constantine I. Nevros, "Soil Erosion in Greece," *Soil Conservation, VI* (1940), and F. G. Renner, "Erosion, Trojan Horse of Greece," *National Geographic*, December 1947. For forestry, see W. Miller, *Greek Town and Country Life* (London, 1905), pp. 229–232.

13. E. G. Mariolopoulos and A. N. Livathinos, in *Atlas climatique de la Grèce* (Athens, 1935), give a good description of the Greek climate.

14. For two views on the sun (Helios) and St. Elias, see the articles by N. G. Politis in *Laographika Symmikta B'* (1921), and E. Rein, "Zu der Verehrung des Propheten Elias bei den Neugriechen," *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, XLVII (1904–1905).

15. Percy F. Martin, *Greece of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1913), pp. 267–68, discusses the company-tenant relations worked out at Lake Kopais as of 1913. [427]

16. One friend wrote in 1959: "Fresh fish has always been expensive. Earlier this winter there was a sudden 50 percent price rise. We ourselves cannot afford fresh fish and buy frozen fish brought in by Greek boats from the Atlantic, which is now available in many parts of Greece. It is a scandal that abundant fresh fish at reasonable prices is not available to the Greeks." [435]

17. This gorgon is really a sea nymph or mermaid (*gorgona* in modern Greek) and not one of the classical gorgons of terrifying aspect (Medusa and her sisters).

18. Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, trans. from the Greek by E. D. Scott-Kilvert (London, 1949), p. 94.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing keeps out both animal and human thieves. These small plots are not carefully tended and their produce is consumed in a few weeks.

Some mention of the most important vegetable food for the villagers may be included: the wild greens (*khorta*) that grow at the edges of the fields and on the hillside. Collecting the greens, which entails finding, recognizing, and cutting them close to the ground with a small knife, is another task of the women and young girls. Some greens are available all year round and children can collect them when the women are busy. However, on occasion, even men and boys will gather a few on their way home from the fields. *Khorta* are not served every day by any means, but they are a fairly common article of diet.

Some fruit trees are cultivated on the village lands. One farmer has as many as ten apricot trees in his cotton fields, but most have a cherry tree or two in the vineyard, perhaps several fig and peach trees in the wheat fields, and an occasional pear, quince, pomegranate, and mulberry tree on some other holdings. The fruits are eaten as they ripen, except that the women prepare from some of them the sweet preserves which are a necessary adjunct of village hospitality. Homemade *gliko kutalyu* (sweet jam) usually lasts through to midwinter, but after that, the villagers buy what they need.

Home canning or other food preservation, therefore, is not a significant addition to the annual locally produced food supply in Vasilika. Even the recognized need for more fruit preserves has not impelled the women to try to convince their husbands to increase the size of orchards. Tomato paste is an important condiment in village cooking, but again, the farming households buy the commercially canned paste, and the women do not prepare any themselves, although, as we have seen, they raise some tomatoes.

Government agricultural extension agents made an effort in 1954 to convince the young girls to can pears and plums as part of a competition. The government recommended fruit canning to the rural women for several reasons: to improve the winter diet without additional cost, and to encourage the increased cultivation of fruit trees as one means of improving drainage on the land. But there has been no increase in canning or in fruit production, and by 1959, even the prize certificates, which had been displayed on a wall of the *saloni* of the house in 1955 and had drawn our attention to the campaign, had disappeared. When asked, the farmers say they could not adequately guard so many trees and the ripe fruit might be stolen. "Why should our family raise fruit for others to eat?" they said. They shrug their shoulders at the soil drainage argument.

The effect of planting fruit trees is, of course, not immediately visible, nor could an eventual improvement in drainage, if it did occur, be an obvious demonstration of the efficacy of orchards, for the cause-and-effect relationships between the two might be obscured, for the farmers, by all the other variables which affect drainage. The reluctance to embark on long-range improvements which are backed by abstract scientific knowledge not directly observable in the farmer's own experience is in direct contrast to his willingness to try short-range experiments the results of which are easily and immediately demonstrable. Indeed, in 1955, the school teacher was criticized for having the school children

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help in the care of fruit trees that the provincial government had arranged to plant on the highway near the village.

The farmers are willing to try some variations if they can use the techniques they know and understand. Cotton prices had been low in 1958. In 1959, therefore, about four or five of Vasilika's farmers planted some of their cotton lands as melon patches, intending to sell the produce in Levadhia or in Athens. By 1961, they had gone back to raising cotton, because the experiment had failed. One of Vasilika's farmers prefers to use his irrigated land as a truck farm, and he and his son sell the produce in the surrounding villages. He argues that with a vegetable crop the cash returns are faster and he incurs fewer debts.

Livestock

Each of the farm-owning households also maintains some animals. One or two horses, a mule or a donkey, some five to twenty sheep, and one or two goats constitute the range of livestock ownership for each household. The horses, as we have seen, pull the plow and the cultivators in the fields. Together with the mules and donkeys, they also serve as pack animals. The pack saddle of wood and leather is of a design that has remained virtually unchanged from Homeric times. It is used not only for carrying loads, but also for carrying people who ride sidesaddle among the paths, through the fields, and between the villages. Sidesaddle is the normal riding position for both men and women, but in the spring, when the horses are let out to pasture on the hillside, the young men of the village sometimes ride them home bareback, astride, galloping and whooping in what they call *kaonboi* fashion.

The villagers do not give their animals individual names, and they take no particular care to keep them physically comfortable. They will hitch them in the shade of a tree in the fields if that is possible, but the farmers may not remove the saddles for an entire day. The animals are beaten with switches and kicked to make them work, and children are permitted to tease donkeys. Nevertheless, the villagers occasionally pat one of their beasts and sometimes encourage children to kiss the ears of a horse and to feed it a lump of sugar.

Sheep, except for the lambs, are cared for by the shepherds. Of a hardy mountain breed capable of surviving the rigors of Greek pasturage and climate, the sheep as milk and wool producers augment the food supply and sometimes the cash of the farmers. Sheep milk is rarely drunk in liquid form, but yoghurt and cheese are prepared from it. The white cheese is a staple of the villagers' diet. They eat yoghurt less frequently and prepare it only as a special dish in milk season.

The villagers raise a special lamb each year to slaughter at Easter, but otherwise rarely eat lamb or mutton. They will consume a sheep that dies of age or disease, and they slaughter sheep for some special occasion such as a wedding, or someone's name day. At shearing time, wool is boiled in large kettles, washed in the river, sent to town for carding, and then dyed and spun into thread at home by the women.

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a glimpse of the stranger. Instead of ignoring the child's discomfort, the mother went over to her saying, in a sarcastic tone, "Why don't you come out and show the lady your beautiful clean dress?" As we reached the little girl, the mother pulled at the child's dress and said, "See, Mrs. Ernestine, how clean she is?" And she said to the child, "Are you afraid to show yourself?" The child squirmed on the window ledge, held her fist to her mouth, and stared at me through these proceedings. She said nothing.

When older children misbehaved, parents sometimes threatened to tell the schoolteacher what they had done, with the implication that they would be both disgraced and punished.

Shame continues as a noticeable attribute of women throughout their lives. But as boys get older, an effort is made to enhance another component of their internal behavior, their love of honor (*filotimo*). A man expresses his masculinity by his love of honor; it is a necessary component of his self-esteem or *amour propre*. In Vasilika, a man gives expression to his *filotimo* by his fulfillment of his obligations to his family and especially to his women, by his ability to participate adequately in the daily give-and-take with other men, and by his knowledge of appropriate behavior toward visitors and guests of higher social position. A particular incident will illustrate: During a conversation with a bank manager in his town office, we were interrupted by a villager who wanted to talk to the manager. The manager told him kindly that he was busy; at a second interruption by the same man, the manager said to the villager, "Please leave us alone; don't you see I have guests here; have you no *filotimo?*" The man left immediately and did not return. The official had appealed to the man's own self-esteem to influence a change in his behavior. Moreover, if he had had to reprimand the man more fully before foreigners, the manager and the culprit would both have lacked *filotimo* as Greeks.

Self-esteem is also maintained in the village by a tendency to attribute failures to some outer conditions rather than to any personal inadequacy. If anything goes wrong, a man is most likely to say he did not have the proper equipment to do the job, or he says, *"Poz na ksero egho?"* "How was I to know?" or it is the fault of the government, or he has been deceived. Man's abilities, the villagers seem to believe, are always limited by the force of circumstances not entirely under his control—he has unexpected illnesses, he has more daughters than sons, rains come when crops need sun, governments establish regulations on matters in which he was not consulted; and since events such as these are part of the human condition, one or another of them is likely to be available for the explanation of any one man's shortcomings. *"O kakomiros,"* "the ill-fated one," the villagers may say of a man even in connection with routine mishaps. It is an epithet used often in the village and represents a compassion which does not derogate from the *filotimo* of the person referred to and counter-balances, to some extent, the frequent ridicule of the behavior of others.

Just as in Vasilika the avoidance of self-blame does not have the connotation of irresponsibility, so self-praise does not have the connotation of boasting. It is, rather, a necessary part of the maintenance of self-esteem. A host praises the food he is serving as he offers it to a guest; he talks of the accomplishments

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *agbrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *agbrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

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school teachers in that village, and whose father had been a school official. They lived in Parori and the school teacher walked back and forth each day. He is a man much interested in improving the standard of living in the region by increased arboriculture, by the maintenance of kitchen gardens, and by the raising of rabbits, pigeons, and other fowl for food. The teacher covers the standard academic curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history (with emphasis on the ancient and modern history of Greece), and Greek language, as well as some religion. For the most part, he uses the traditional methods of rote learnng, but occasionally he includes some material on farm practices in his lessons, and tries different teaching techniques. On one occasion he supplemented the geography lesson by having the children make in the schoolyard an earth model of the topography of the Peloponnesus. He had them bring small samples of each of the products grown in the different regions of that part of Greece to place on the appropriate spot on the model.

In 1959, there was much favorable comment in the village because the schoolteacher had succeeded in having the new school built in just four months —a very short period for construction work of that kind in the region. But the schoolteacher is always partly an outsider for Vasilika because he neither comes from nor lives in the village.

The school and its teacher are a focus of interest for all village families with school-age children. Not only does the school have its obvious educational functions, but the teacher is a supplementary authority with whom parents can threaten their children, and the success of their children in school is a source of great pride to the parents.

On two occasions in the course of the year the school becomes a focus of interest for the entire village. The first of these is *Ochi* Day (the 28th of October), when the school children wear the old rural costumes and declaim patriotic poems to commemorate the day in 1940 when the Greeks said "No!" to the Italian ultimatum and started to repell the Italian invasion. This is a national holiday, and the village president and the priest participate. On the *Ochi* Day that we witnessed, however, the audience for the ceremonies was small because the adults were out in the fields picking cotton.

The second occasion is the more important one, *Evangelizmos*, the Feast of the Annunciation on the 25th of March. That is the official date on which, in 1821, the start of the revolution against the Turks was proclaimed by a bishop, and it is celebrated in Vasilika by children's recitations at the church services and by a school dramatic performance afterwards. The teacher selects the playlets, which usually include several that are re-enactments of the partly legendary incidents of the revolution. After the children have performed, the young men of the village present one or two mildly bawdy skits, which derive their humor partly from the antics of the boys who are assigned female roles and wear women's clothes. After the plays, the children, still in costume, perform some of the folk dances of the region, accompanying themselves with songs. *Evangelizmos* is one of the few times in the course of the year when virtually the entire village appears at an event. Villagers of all ages and both sexes come to

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TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

remains that the provision of a more adequate training for the parish clergy is perhaps the most urgent problem which the Greek Church has to face at the present time. Great efforts are already being made. Nobody who was in touch with ecclesiastical affairs during the years which followed the occupation could fail to be impressed by the energy with which the founding of new seminaries for the country clergy was pursued. The courage with which the problem was then tackled is already beginning to bear fruit in the mountain dioceses of Macedonia and elsewhere, but a vast amount of work remains to be done.

The reader will recall that the Greek parish priest must be at least thirty years of age at his ordination. There is much to be said in support of this rule; it does, however, together with the canons relating to clerical marriage, raise very grave practical problems as to the training of the clergy. These are particularly acute in the case of the so-called 'Hieratic Schools', seven of which were flourishing in 1950. These ecclesiastical boarding schools, normally with a priest-monk as director assisted by three or four lay theologians, are open to boys who have completed their course at an ordinary elementary school. A boy will normally remain at the hieratic school until he is eighteen or nineteen, but only a very small proportion of those who stay the course are eventually ordained. A few will decide against marriage and will be made deacons shortly after completing their studies—perhaps going on to the theological school at Athens or Salonica. These, however, form a small minority, and very few of the remaining students will be ordained. Some will marry, and become teachers of theology or the classics in secondary schools; some will attach themselves to episcopal households as secretaries or lay preachers. Far the greater number, however, drift into more or less secular occupations, and while it is doubtless admirable that there should be tobacco merchants and bank clerks who are not merely well grounded in theology but can quote Chrysostom and Nazianzen with as great a facility as any clerk in holy orders, it is understandable that the bishops should lament the fact that so few of those educated at the ecclesiastical secondary schools offer themselves for ordination.

It would seem that if the parish priest is to be given any theological education over and above that which every Greek boy acquires in his village school and in his home, he must be sent back to school after following some secular calling for twelve years or more, or even after having been in orders for many years. Hence the establishment of the

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other the celibate clergy from whose ranks the chief ministers of the Church are normally chosen. In the training of the former book-learning plays but little part. The seminaries aim at providing no more than an elementary grounding in pastoralia for a race of craftsmen and peasant-farmers who, with few exceptions, are more at home with a plough than a pen, and are wholly unequipped for academic pursuits. The higher clergy, however, are almost invariably graduates, well versed in the disputations of the schools.

While the married clergy receive their training in the seminaries, the potential bishop is fashioned in the theological schools of the universities of Athens and Salonica. The theological faculty of the northern university was established only a few years ago. In former days many of the higher Greek clergy went to the theological academy at Halki, near Constantinople: a celebrated institution which, in the days of its prosperity, attracted students from every part of the Orthodox world. After the first world war, however, this sank to the level of a provincial seminary, and it is only in recent years (under the guiding hand of a new Oecumenical Patriarch) that it has regained something of its old prestige. Thus, the great majority of the present Greek bishops and archimandrites are graduates of the University of Athens.

In considering the place occupied by the theological schools of the universities within the framework of training for the ministry, it must not be forgotten that the clergy account for only a small proportion of the students of these faculties, far the greater number of whom are lay men and women (there are quite a few girls amongst the theological students of Athens and Salonica, and their number is steadily increasing). In the universities, moreover, as in the seminaries and the ecclesiastical schools, the majority of the teaching staff are laymen. The only cleric among the Athens professors—the Archimandrite B. Stephanides (whose *Ecclesiastical History* seems likely to be a standard work for every Greek student for many years to come)—retired in 1950 and was succeeded by a layman; while at Salonica likewise, only the professor of ecclesiastical history—an archimandrite who was formerly in charge of the Greek church in Paris—is in orders. Although the lay theologian has a long and distinguished ancestry in eastern Christendom and is often a man of deep spirituality, it can nevertheless be a trifle startling to hear a layman lecturing, to an audience which includes experienced priests and *pneumatikoi*, on the mystery of confession.

The university course normally lasts four years. The theology of the

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123 793 484 we abandoned the road and struck across the valley towards the river Peneios. The water lapped about our horses' bellies as we forded the swiftly flowing stream, and the potential *psaltes* had a ducking and screeched in muffled protest. Amongst the low hills beyond the river the going was far from easy, and several times we were obliged to dismount and lead our slithering beasts across some particularly difficult stretch of terrain.

[342] About eleven o'clock—soon after we had left the dilapidated cottages and recently rebuilt church of Vanakoulia to our left—we halted outside what had evidently once been a substantial stone house, but which had been burned down and only lately repaired by means of rough-hewn timbers supporting sheets of corrugated iron thrown across the ruins. Here lived Father Constantinos' godparents: well advanced in years and in wisdom, with four sons serving in the army. We broached the cognac and warmed ourselves at the hearth, while the old lady opened [262] one of the wooden chests that lined the tottering walls and brought out walnuts and the golden apples in which this part of Thessaly abounds.

Setting out again a little before noon we descended from the ridge crowned by the ruins of Vanakoulia, and turned eastwards up the boulder-strewn bed of the Aspropotamos. Throughout the rest of the day we journeyed in a desolate landscape of bleached plane trees and white stones, ground and polished by the melting snows; picking our way amongst the boulders of water courses or leading our beasts delicately along narrow paths—mere scratches in the face of the rock—winding high above the torrents and the frozen pools, the long snowy ridges of Pindos far above us.

123 793 It was nearly dark when we reached Palaiochori. Mitsos stabled the tired beasts, and the exhausted *psaltes*—long past speech or feeling—was tipped out of his sack into a pile of straw where he lay motionless. [875] Papa Costas led the way upstairs to the living quarters of his parsonage where we were welcomed by his *papadia* and the schoolmistress, a young girl lately come from Ioannina. We supped sitting tailor-wise before the fire, and soon afterwards the women brought in piles of rugs, Papa Costas divested himself of his outer *rason*, and, commending ourselves to the protection of the all-merciful God and of His saints, we all lay down on the floor and were asleep in a twinkling.

[262] In the morning, after breaking our fast with a glass of cognac and a few walnuts, we went to see the church of St. Bessarion. Papa Costas, [346] Mitsos and the churchwardens accompanied us. The interior of the

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About eighty of the 200-odd houses in the village had been destroyed. The old school-house was a total ruin and would have, in due course, to be rebuilt from its very foundations. The church of St. Menas had been reopened, and the desks and benches which had arrived a few days earlier had been stacked in the narthex. There was tremendous excitement in the village at the prospect of the reopening of the school. The schoolmaster, who was directing operations when we arrived, had just been released from the army. He proved to be the son of the proprietor of the largest store in Kalambaka. Needless to say, the unexpected advent of the *xenoi* caused all work to be abandoned for the afternoon, and half the village accompanied us to the church. The priest, a young man named Antony, was in a sanatorium near Athens. For the time being his place had been taken by a refugee *papas* from the diocese of Grevena.

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The evening brought torrents of rain. We slept at the house of one of the churchwardens and set out for Kalambaka the following morning. The *epitropoi* insisted on accompanying us as far as the river, as they feared lest the Peneios, swollen by the heavy rains, should prove difficult to ford. Fortunately, their anxieties were excessive, and shortly after midday on the feast of St. Euthymius the Great we rode briskly into Kalambaka. My mule, smarting under a sense of outraged propriety at its Frankish rider's use of an umbrella (borrowed from the village president at Vanakoulia) as an instrument of coercion, eyed the

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

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At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

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Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

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The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They arekept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

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/70 cont./
Making use of their prosperous crop years, farmers have enlarged the houses and added more rooms and thus improved their houses. The usual type is a three room house, storeroom, kitchen and bedroom. The habit of the whole family sleeping in the same room still prevails. Most families have screened their houses against mosquitos and flies, but the floors still remain the same mud built.

362 [513] [825] [751]

PART VI Education

Various aspects of informal education. The people of Megali Vrisi are hungry for education and value its importance in their lives. When they arrived at their half-ruined village, before taking care of their own shelter, they built the school by sacrificing the lumber of their houses.

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/71/ Church and school are the two outstanding institutions which influence more than anything else the lives of these people. More than 97 per cent of the Caucasians know how to read and write, and six among them have even completed their high school work. The Thracians on the other side are illiterate. Only 4 per cent of the older people know how to read and write, but the younger generation that has the chance to attend the school, know how to read and write.

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The local grammar school includes six grades with one teacher. He divides his students into two groups, and half of them come in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. The teaching schedule is prepared by the Ministry of Education and the teacher is closely inspected by the regional inspector as to his ability to follow it. This heavy program hinders the teacher from taking active part in the village social life.

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Teacher's position in the village. A teacher and a priest are highly honored and their presence in coffee houses is not desired. Besides the training he gives to the children at the school the teacher follows his students in their homes too. If a mother

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/71 cont./ If a mother or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

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Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

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Besides the grammar school there was another agent that acted as an educational organization for adult education. The graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

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The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demonstration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

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The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.

577 are concerned. Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to
867 teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth; but this, of course, means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these, and with people who value them and trust them as persons. Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness. Loyalty also is never to
577 something abstract, like the government, which is equated with
671 impersonal law. Loyalty is to the Greek nation, to Greece, the mother
619 of the people, to personified freedom, but not to "the Greeks" who are unknown. Profiteering and dealings on the black market were not considered bad, because they circumvented only impersonal law and showed disloyalty only to the government and to the unknown Greeks; actually they were good in terms of the family, to whom an individual owes his loyalty.

577 Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility,
608 or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty
661 evoked only in personal relations, it follows that Greeks cannot be impartial in awarding jobs or distributing goods. To take care of one's own first, irrespective of merit or of an order of priority, is one's duty; it means fulfilling one's role. Yet impartiality, just because it is so difficult to maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to "bend", and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty, just because it is saintly, are highly admired in Greece—though perhaps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship.

577 Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person
496 helping the other, or it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake, and women bringing gifts to him, which can be used incidentally for the undertaking.

867 Obedience is very important and is taught to a child almost from
577 birth; but again, this is obedience within a structured whole, to the
608 parents, older siblings, and to people who stand in this relationship; that is, to friends of the parents or of older relatives, or appropriately introduced older people. Authority comes only from place in this
849 structured whole, and obedience is only to people. Government is
671 not personal, and the law is external to the organic, structured whole. It is not the voice of Greece. There is therefore no obligation to obey the law; the guide to conduct here is expediency, and the ability to circumvent. Before the political centralization, there was obedience
875 and lasting loyalty to the schoolteacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government, and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties.